THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ROUND TABLE

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MAY 14 1942
WOMAN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Aliens in Our Midst

A Radio Discussion by

- ERNEST COLWELL
- CAREY McWILLIAMS
- LOUIS WIRTH

429th BROADCAST IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY • 217

MAY 10, 1942

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

Published weekly. 10 cents a copy; five copies, 25 cents; full-year subscription, 52 issues, two dollars. Published by the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Entered as second-class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

No. 217

NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

ALIENS IN OUR MIDST

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

ERNEST COLWELL, Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago

CAREY MCWILLIAMS, California Commissioner of Immigration and Housing

LOUIS WIRTH, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago, over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, May 10, 1942, at 1:30 P.M., Central War Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script, although participants meet in advance, prepare a topical outline, and exchange data and views. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

ALIENS IN OUR MIDST

•

America has been called the "melting pot." From all corners of the world have come the forebears of present-day Americans. In this land of opportunity and unending expanse of land the word "alien" was seldom used, for only the Indian was aboriginal.

Today the term "enemy alien" has been applied to the nationals of those countries with which we are at war. The law distinguishes between those noncitizens with whose homelands we are at war and those noncitizens with those homelands we are either allied or at peace.

What are we doing about "enemy aliens"? How many are there? Are they a threat to our unity, our safety, our war effort? Are all noncitizens who came from Germany, Italy, and Japan a menace to us? Are even naturalized German-Americans, Italian-Americans, and Japanese-Americans to be distrusted, watched, and segregated?

To answer these and other questions about "Aliens in Our Midst," the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE *invited three expert observers to its microphone.*

•

MR. COLWELL: What we will say today will undoubtedly displease some people. We can hope that what we say will please some and be content with that, for the differences of opinion on a controversial subject such as "Aliens in Our Midst" are very deep-seated and very strongly felt. But we believe, in common with our audience, that what needs to be done in the way of necessary safeguards

and adequate defense for the control of hostile residents of this country (whether alien or citizen) must be carried out. We are committed to the proposition that the aggressive prosecution of the war is our immediate and first-line responsibility.

MR. WIRTH: Agreed. But, while military necessity is paramount, I think we must avoid falling into the Hitler trap. He wants to divide us and then conquer us. I think we ought to realize that, in treating the minorities and the aliens in our own country in the way in which our democracy ought to treat them, we should be setting an example to the rest of the world.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: Yes, the people who feel that aliens should be strictly restricted in their activities do so out of a fear of fifth-column activities. As a matter of fact, we are in this case just giving new labels to old problems. Lincoln referred to them as "copperheads," and we say "fifth columnists."[1] I think it's important to recall that Quisling was not a German but a Norwegian.

MR. WIRTH: And Laval was a Frenchman and not a German.

MR. COLWELL: And Hitler was an Austrian. But our first important question is how real is this so-called "alien problem"? How many aliens are there?

MR. MCWILLIAMS: Well, the Alien Registration of 1940 indicated that there were about five million aliens in the United States.[2]

---

[1] *"Copperheads" was a term of opprobrium applied by northerners during the Civil War to fellow-northerners who sympathized with the southern Confederacy and were suspected of secretly aiding the South. The allusion suggested in the name was to the venomous copperhead snake, which strikes without warning.*

[2] *During the initial period of the first complete registration of all noncitizens under the Alien Registration Act, a total of 4,741,971 registered in continental United States. During World War I a total of*

Of that group, about a million and a quarter are so-called "enemy" aliens—two hundred and eighty-five thousand alien Germans (whom we regard as enemy aliens because of the war), seven hundred and fifty thousand Italians, and about one hundred and twenty-six thousand Japanese.

MR. WIRTH: But we mustn't forget that a great many people probably think of aliens as anybody not born in this country. That, of course, is not so. We have a great many people who came from abroad who are now citizens of the United States, and I think they ought not to be confused with the aliens. (*See illustration, page 5.*)

MR. MCWILLIAMS: That's quite right; and it's also very difficult to draw the line between alien and citizen in certain instances. I have in mind, by way of illustration, the three million five hundred thousand Mexicans or Spanish-speaking people of the United States, most of them in the border states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Most of them are citizens, but the distinction between citizen and alien here is pretty shadowy. Just recently, in the hill villages of New Mexico, I saw an old Spanish-American going from village to village on foot, selling Defense Bonds.

MR. WIRTH: He probably couldn't even speak English.

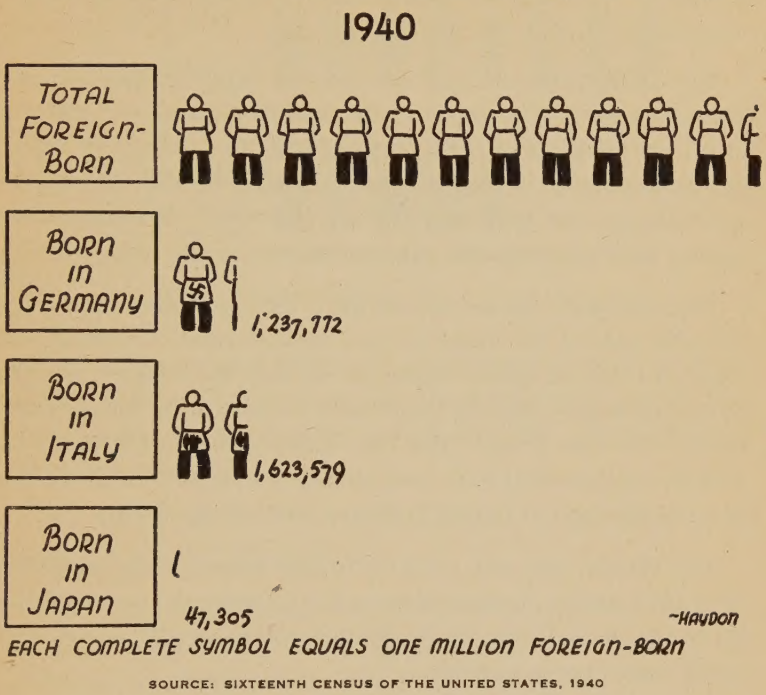
MR. MCWILLIAMS: He could not speak English.

MR. WIRTH: I think we should not forget, either, that there are many millions of Americans who couldn't prove their citizenship, although they were born in this country. Probably there are as many as sixty million, as one of our congressmen recently pointed out.

MR. COLWELL: Then, there are apparently various classes of resi-

---

480,000 Germans (male and female) were registered. It was estimated that there were between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 Austro-Hungarian male and female aliens.



dents of this country who come under the headings of alien, enemy alien, loyal alien, or citizen.

Mr. Wirth: Or enemy citizen. I think we ought to distinguish first of all between the technical enemy alien and the genuine enemy alien. The term "enemy alien" is a legal term and doesn't describe the loyalties of anybody.

Mr. McWilliams: The term "enemy alien" is also capable of very great and quick expansion in this kind of war, is it not?

MR. WIRTH: Precisely. I think if we were to go to war tomorrow with, let us say, the Vichy government, the chances are the people of France would become enemy aliens, although now we regard them as friends.

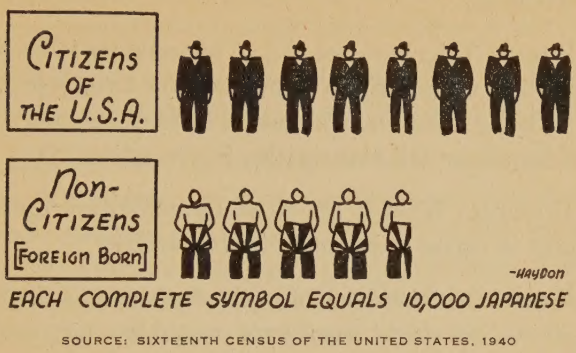
MR. MCWILLIAMS: There is one group here that concerns me very much personally, and that is the anti-Nazi refugees. There are about ten thousand of them on the Pacific Coast, most of whom have been stripped of their German citizenship by Nazi decree, and who have not yet acquired American citizenship. It seems rather strange to list these people as enemy aliens.

MR. COLWELL: Those refugees are a very aggressive and a very valuable part of the anti-Nazi and pro-democratic forces in the world. I think we should remember not only the refugees who are technically enemy aliens in this country but also the so-called "free" forces—the Free French, the Free Czechs—the people from the various countries that have been already subjugated by Hitler and are now fighting our battles in distant parts of the world.

MR. WIRTH: And who will have to fight more of these battles for us as time goes on, because those are the people who can build the bridges to the countries we are fighting or that are still neutral and might come over to our side.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: That brings me to a question that I would like to ask Wirth: Just what has been our national policy with respect to aliens?

MR. WIRTH: We have practiced the open-door policy toward immigrants coming to these shores. In the course of the nineteenth century, something like thirty million people came here from abroad; and, of course, since the great depression, the tide has turned. Many of these immigrants have left this country—in some years, as many left as came. But we have restricted our immigra-



tion virtually since the twenties to a point where it doesn't amount to more than one hundred and fifty thousand a year; and we have taken in mostly refugees during the last few years. (*See illustrations on pages 15 and 17.*)

MR. MCWILLIAMS: But traditionally have we not made an exception of oriental immigration?

MR. WIRTH: Yes, a very striking exception. We have excluded the Orientals, and that means the Japanese and particularly the Chinese. And, moreover, in California and some other states laws prohibit them from owning property. And, what is even worse, some of these Orientals who would like to become citizens are prevented from becoming citizens by our laws.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: And, as you say, that applies to our Chinese allies as well as to the Japanese?

MR. WIRTH: Exactly.

MR. COLWELL: Then some of the numbers on the roll of enemy aliens are there through no failure on the part of the individual to

take advantage of the possible opportunities for becoming an American citizen.

MR. WIRTH: They have not had an opportunity to become citizens. And then we sometimes blame them for being separate from us and for being exclusive. The reason is, of course, that we have excluded them from full participation in our national life.[3]

MR. COLWELL: What is the general procedure of the national government in regard to enemy aliens in wartime?

MR. WIRTH: We have back of us the experience of the last war. In the last war our enemy aliens were treated in a very cordial and legal manner. We made them register, and we allowed them to be free until something was proved against them.[4]

---

[3] *The Japanese situation in California is complicated by reason of three important divisions or groupings within the Japanese population: "Issei," "Nisei," and "Kibei." The "Issei," or original immigrants, were made permanently ineligible to citizenship by the Immigration Act of 1924. The "Kibei" are American-born (citizen) Japanese who have studied in Japan. The "Nisei" are the American-born (citizen) Japanese who have tended to break away from the Japanese community.*

[4] *The Attorney-General in his 1918 report pointed out that the only measure of control of aliens was that which was specifically conferred upon the Department of Justice by proclamations issued from time to time by the President under the authority of section 4067 of the Revised Statutes. Limitations were placed upon the movements of enemy aliens; there was a permit system and a pass system for waterfronts; and more than six thousand suspected enemy aliens were detained under presidential warrant. Alien enemies were interned by executive authority, with no power vested in the courts to review or modify the action. Efforts were later made to deal with enemy aliens more through the use of parole, the posting of bonds, and the requiring of "supervisors" rather than by internment.*

We realize this is a different kind of war, because the fifth column is one of the major weapons of modern warfare, so we can't blame our government for being more stringent in its regulations.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: I think you might point out just how the evacuation program is being handled. Who is handling it?

MR. WIRTH: Well, the President issued an Executive Order designating the Secretary of War as the person who is to decide where the dangerous areas are. And the Secretary of War has delegated that power to the commanding generals on the coast. And General DeWitt on the Pacific Coast has designated certain areas as areas from which people may be evacuated.

MR. COLWELL: Then it is the Army which is administering this evacuation program?

MR. WIRTH: The Army has been administering it, but it has been turned over now to the War Relocation Authority.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: I think we should point out the number of Japanese and their location on the Pacific Coast. There are about one hundred and twenty-six thousand Japanese in the United States, but most of them are concentrated in California.[5]

MR. WIRTH: Ninety-six thousand of them.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: That's right. They are concentrated not only in one state but in particular areas in the state, some of which have great strategic value. I refer in particular to the Terminal Island Settlement, in the center of Los Angeles Harbor, and Bainbridge Island, near the Bremerton Navy Yard in Puget Sound. I think it

---

[5] *On April 1, 1940, there were 126,947 Japanese in the continental United States, of which number 47,305 were foreign-born aliens and, therefore, permanently ineligible for citizenship. Most of these Japanese are concentrated in California (93,717, of whom 33,569 are aliens).*

is also worth while pointing out that, of those to be evacuated, about forty-one thousand are alien and about seventy-one thousand are American citizens by reason of the fact that they were born in this country.

MR. WIRTH: And, what is more, many of them have actually entered the armed forces of the United States as volunteers or draftees.

MR. COLWELL: Do these soldiers of Japanese descent in the American forces suffer any liability because of their Japanese descent?

MR. MCWILLIAMS: Well, recently, a young Japanese-American soldier told me in Los Angeles that by reason of the curfew regulations he was precluded from walking down the streets of Los Angeles after 8:00 P.M., and he suggested that if he were not permitted to do so perhaps his uniform should be taken from him.

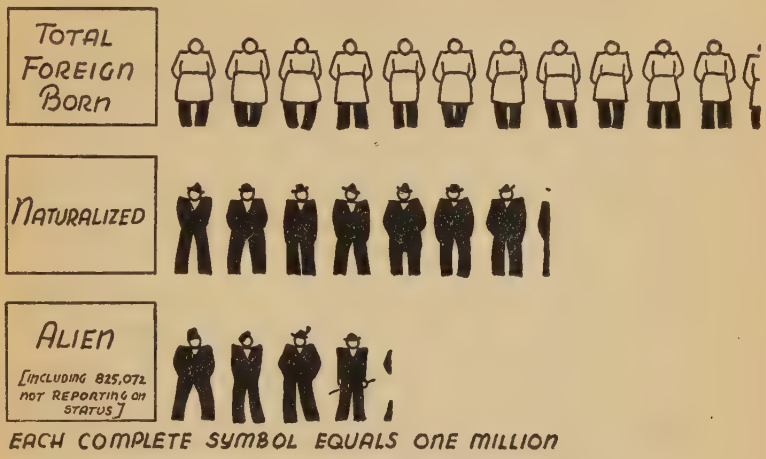
MR. WIRTH: Well, we can understand that feeling, because most of these—if not the overwhelming majority—American-born Japanese, although some of them have been educated in part in Japan (sent there by their parents), have unquestioned loyalty to the United States.

MR. COLWELL: If the numbers to be moved are approximately one hundred thousand for the entire West Coast, that's not a very large proportion of the total coast population, and the situation is critical simply because of the concentration of these people of Japanese descent in strategic areas.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: That's the point. As a matter of fact, the Japanese population in the three West Coast states only constitutes 1 per cent of the total population of the three states, whereas, I believe, Wirth, the percentage is much greater in Hawaii, isn't it?

MR. WIRTH: Oh, yes! Of the four hundred and twenty-five thou-

STATUS OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1940



SOURCE: SIXTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940

sand people in Hawaii, about 37 per cent, I believe, are Japanese. I think it's interesting to note that only two hundred and thirty-seven of the total population (and not all of them Japanese) have been taken into custody as suspicious persons.

MR. COLWELL: Well, ever since Pearl Harbor, we have been hearing on the air and reading in the newspapers and in magazine articles stories of considerable acts of sabotage on the part of Japanese residents or aliens or citizens in Hawaii and in California. Are there any authoritative statements in regard to the extent of this sabotage? Was that really one of the major motives for the relocation of our Japanese residents?

MR. WIRTH: To that question we can give an unqualified answer. We have the official statement of the Tolan Committee. The Tolan Committee wired that question to the chief of police of Hono-

lulu—Chief Gabrielson—and he replied that there was no evidence whatsoever of sabotage on the part of Japanese or anyone else in Hawaii on December 7 or since that date.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: I think it's well to point out that the Roberts Report on Pearl Harbor mentions *espionage*, but most certainly it does not mention *sabotage;* and this fact, it seems to me, has been overlooked in the excitement of the moment.

MR. WIRTH: Doesn't it seem logical that if anybody was going to commit sabotage for the Japanese, it wouldn't be somebody that could be as easily spotted as a Japanese?

MR. COLWELL: I think that's true. If I were a Japanese agent in this country, instead of hiring a fellow-Japanese to carry out acts of espionage or sabotage, I would hire a southern Democrat or some other person whose motives and appearance would blend naturally into our patriotic picture. I think that we might make some statement about the cost of this mass movement of these Japanese residents in the Pacific Coast area. How far are they to be moved? Is it going to cost a lot of money to move them?

MR. MCWILLIAMS: It's certainly going to involve a staggering total before we're through with the program; but, in addition to the actual cost of the program, measured in terms of dollars and cents, it seems to me that there is another important factor, namely, the possible failure to utilize available manpower in this emergency. Unless the program is handled carefully, we may be wasting a great amount of manpower, which, measured in monetary terms, might even approximate the actual cost of resettlement.

MR. WIRTH: But if military necessity demands it, then cost isn't of any importance.

There is a question I'd like to ask you, McWilliams. Do you suppose there might be some other motives besides military motives for the evacuation of these Japanese?

MR. MCWILLIAMS: I think that's quite possible. If you will glance at the current issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, you will find that certain special-interest groups in California have a motive for desiring the evacuation of the Japanese.[6]

MR. WIRTH: Do you mean that some competitors in agriculture and business may want to get hold of the stake that the Japanese have acquired?

MR. MCWILLIAMS: Yes. But that would not be general, because I think the motivation behind the program cuts across special-interest groups in California.

MR. WIRTH: It seems to me that that is something to which the authorities ought to be very alert as they manage this problem.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: That's right.

MR. COLWELL: Yet, I judge that it is McWilliams' opinion that this was not the dominant motive, because people whose economic interests are pointed in different directions were involved in the question. Some people wanted to keep the Japanese for financial reasons and some of them wanted them moved. You cannot point to that particular interest as the only motivation.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: There is one other thing about this program which I think may be of interest. That is the splendid way in which the Army has handled the entire situation to date—a situation wholly without precedent. And also there is the fact that the Japanese have themselves responded to this situation most splendidly.

MR. WIRTH: I wonder whether it is generally realized that this is one of the most gigantic forced mass migrations in our history, if not in the history of this continent? Never before have so many people

---

[6] *See Frank J. Taylor, "The People Nobody Wants," "Saturday Evening Post," May 9, 1942.*

been involuntarily removed from their place of residence at one time. That, if we can treat it humanely and decently, is one of our major achievements and ought to be credited to the Army and to the evacuation authorities.

MR. COLWELL: Just where are these Japanese being relocated? Are we going to have concentration camps in America for Japanese?

MR. WIRTH: I hope we're not going to turn these camps into concentration camps. After all, the distinction needs to be made between the concentration camps, where people are tortured and where they're confined involuntarily as punishment, and a camp where people are being resettled merely for the purpose of serving a military interest for the time being, and which ought to be of a temporary character.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: That gives rise to the question of whether or not these reception centers and relocation sites are to be thought of as temporary quarters or as permanent resettlement areas. I have been somewhat alarmed to note a tendency in California to lock the door behind the departing Japanese. We are tightening up the loopholes in the Alien Land Act of that state, and ordinances are being passed which might make it very difficult for the Japanese as a group to return to the state of California.

MR. WIRTH: In considering the question of what is going to happen to these people who are being moved, and what is going to happen to aliens in general after the war, I think we ought not to forget the young people, because they're the ones who are going to be with us longest after the war, whereas their elders, perhaps, will soon pass out of the picture. And these young people are likely to have a stigma left upon them as a result of this experience, and there may be even bitterness of feeling.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: Just what is being done about university and college students?

UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION BY DECADES: 1881-1940

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 1,000,000 IMMIGRANTS

SOURCE: UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Mr. Wirth: I think it is encouraging that the Student Relocation Committee has been organized on the Pacific Coast to deal with the some twenty-five hundred students in universities and higher educational institutions. An appeal is being made to universities and higher educational institutions all over the country to receive these Japanese and disperse them throughout the country so that they can continue to carry on their education.

Mr. Colwell: This is a matter that is going to call for the establishment of a very steady, courageous, levelheaded administrative and educational policy in universities and colleges throughout the country. There is no doubt but that there is some hysterical feeling of apprehension that the presence of any of these Japanese, whether citizens or aliens, on our campuses is an evidence of lack of cooperation in the war effort. We should do our best to disabuse ourselves of this hysterical notion.

Mr. McWilliams: I would like to raise this question: Just what effect is the evacuation program going to have upon our concept of the value of American citizenship?

Mr. Colwell: It's going to depreciate our conception of the value of American citizenship if we persist in treating citizens and aliens on exactly the same basis. You cannot say that there is a premium to be gained by becoming an American citizen and then treat the one who goes through the process of becoming a citizen exactly as if he were still an alien, which has been true up to this point in the treatment of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Wirth: And, what's more, I think in behalf of these young Japanese who were born in this country, many of whom wear the uniform of a United States soldier, we ought to say that they're going to have a difficult time with their elders, who will chide them because they have acquired American citizenship and nevertheless are treated as if they did not have it.

ALIENS ADMITTED AND DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES: 1936-40

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 25,000

SOURCE: UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

MR. MCWILLIAMS: And there's some danger of a precedent being established here so far as other alien groups are concerned.

MR. WIRTH: Yes. In my opinion the enemy alien ought to be treated in this way: We ought to determine in each individual case what the loyalties of the person are rather than merely be satisfied with discovering the race that he belongs to and the country from which he comes.

MR. COLWELL: It not only will have adverse effects upon the young people, the American-born descendants of these alien groups, but, I am convinced, will mean a weakening of our total war effort throughout the world if we proceed in any undemocratic fashion in the treatment of these people in our country. In waging this kind of a war, we cannot afford to alienate peoples (however distant they may be) by doing anything that would suggest that we intend to follow a national policy in which we take race as the criterion of loyalty.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: Our treatment of the three million five hundred thousand Spanish-speaking people, whom I referred to a mo-

ment ago, was certainly a matter of very grave concern so far as our relations to the nations to the south is concerned.

MR. COLWELL: That's a fact, and it seems to me that our most important question is: What positive policy should the government of the United States and its people follow in regard to these aliens?

Granted that we have set the Japanese aside as a matter of military necessity and have relocated them, where do we go from here? What positive policy should we follow?

MR. WIRTH: I think, Colwell, we have a guide for that in the President's letter to General Knudsen, in reference to the Fair Employment Practices Committee, in which he said: "No nation combating the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of its population from its defense industries." (And, we might add, "all its other activities.") "Even more important is it for us to strengthen our unity and morale by refuting at home the very theories which we are fighting abroad."

Now, proceeding on this policy set by the President, we have the chance to set an example to the rest of the world that we can fight a war effectively and at the same time maintain our essential liberties and rights.

MR. COLWELL: One of the most effective ways you suggest of fighting a war for democracy is to live aggressively in the democratic pattern while the war is going on and to champion every policy and every issue that suggests an improvement in that direction.

MR. MCWILLIAMS: I think we might take a page from the experience of the British in this regard and possibly establish separate tribunals to pass upon the individual cases of the German, Italian, and Japanese, of both citizens and aliens.[7]

---

[7] *Dr. Robert M. W. Kempner in an article titled "The Enemy Alien Problem in the Present War," "American Journal of International*

MR. WIRTH: Yes, to determine each case on the basis of individual convictions and their past action and record rather than on the basis of their nationality and race.

MR. COLWELL: As a matter of fact, the F.B.I. has pursued that policy in general. It has arrested whatever people seemed suspicious, because of information that came to the officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They have been given a hearing. Where they have been found innocent, they have been paroled.

MR. WIRTH: I think it might be of some interest to point out that Attorney-General Biddle and the F.B.I. report that up to the middle of February somewhat over five thousand enemy aliens were taken into custody and that 60 per cent of these have been released as being loyal persons. Only the other 40 per cent had to be held for further investigation, with the possibility that many of them will be paroled afterward.

MR. COLWELL: I wonder whether McWilliams would be willing to suggest some specific things which could be done in going on from this point in the Japanese relocation program?

Law," July, 1940, reviews the experience of Great Britain. In May, 1940, of a total of seventy-four thousand technical enemy aliens in England, over nine thousand were interned, including fifteen hundred women. To determine whether they were real enemy aliens or technical enemy aliens, one hundred and twelve alien tribunals were set up throughout the country. This resulted in the internment of only two thousand of those examined. Almost 87 per cent were released without any restrictions whatever.

It was found that, although many of the "aliens" are "enemies" by origin, speech, and culture, they are often admirers of the state in which they live. The conclusion was drawn that most Germans and Austrians in Great Britain feel no loyalty to the National Socialist government which drove them into exile for political, racial, or religious reasons.

Mr. McWilliams: I think one very important thing to do is to give the Japanese a chance to demonstrate their loyalty to the government of the United States and particularly to give the younger generation a chance to participate in the war effort.

Mr. Colwell: Will these younger Japanese, the American-born Japanese, be eager today, after this program has begun, to make a personal contribution toward the winning of the war for this country?

Mr. Wirth: I think there can be no question about that. Many of them are educated and skilled workers and professional people, and they can be of immense value to us. And, what is more, they can be of value to us indirectly in the war effort. Many Japanese are fighting with the Chinese against the Axis powers. So these Japanese in this country can be the spearhead for an army of people that are going to undermine the Axis authority in the Japanese empire. And I think we ought not to waste important manpower and an important morale force such as that which we have on our side.

Mr. McWilliams: Don't you think also, in terms of the postwar situation in Europe, that we should set an example for the world of how to achieve unity despite diversity of racial and national origins?

Mr. Wirth: We can't afford not to do it, considering our history and our leading position in this world-struggle.

Mr. McWilliams: This is the kind of a struggle, as someone pointed out recently, in which one's friends are everywhere and one's enemies are everywhere. It cuts across all lines.

Mr. Colwell: That means that aliens who are loyal to our government, and the children of these aliens who are patriotic Americans, are an important resource for building bridges, as McWilliams suggested, down through Central American to South America and

across the Pacific to the peoples of Asia, where we will need every possible assistance. It's interesting in this connection to me that the Chinese are making use of some Japanese in their war against Japan.

Mr. Wirth: I'd like to point out another positive contribution that can be made through our enlightened and humane handling of this problem. We're going to disperse a great many of these aliens throughout the country. Through this dispersal we will be breaking up some of the clannishness, some of these little, isolated colonies in which they formerly lived, and bringing them into contact with the rest of the American people and American civilization.

Mr. McWilliams: That's quite correct. The little Tokyos in California, for example, were premised upon a too narrow economic base. They tended to become socially introverted; and, in the long run, as many of the younger generation of the Japanese themselves have said, it may be desirable that this move has been taken.

Mr. Wirth: And so, while I feel that there may be a great many people in America whose conscience is outraged by the indiscriminate way in which we have treated all aliens alike, and particularly all enemy aliens alike, we may, as time goes on, begin to differentiate and establish special treatment for those who are our enemies in contrast to those who are our friends.

Mr. Colwell: Don't you think that it's important for us, in connection with the Japanese relocation program especially, to strain every nerve and make every effort to see to it that in the new location these people will have opportunities equivalent to those they have left?

Mr. McWilliams: I think that is very essential, and, if we go ahead with the program on that basis, I think that it can be said to rest upon a sound constitutional concept.

Mr. Wirth: That may mean that we may have to adopt something like a homestead principle for some of those whom we are going to resettle, and it may mean that we will have to facilitate the education of some of the Japanese that we have removed from their homes and from their schools.

Mr. McWilliams: That's true, in particular, because of the fact that the first generation, being ineligible for citizenship in the first place, never learned the English language and did not take advantage of the opportunity to become familiar with American institutions.

Mr. Wirth: If we adopt such a program, it will be an important military as well as social asset.

Mr. Colwell: We are agreed, then, that all hostile residents of this country, whether citizen or alien, should be guarded against with the utmost vigilance; that the general program of investigating and holding all suspects and releasing the innocent, as it has been carried out by the F.B.I., for example, deserves commendation; that the relocation of these Japanese aliens and citizens can and should be directed to the making of a constructive use of these aliens and citizen descendants of aliens.

And, above all, we are agreed that it is our obligation as Americans to apply our democratic principles as widely as possible, to build the last possible resident of this country into our democratic way of life, and to make sure that nothing is wasted in wartime.

SUGGESTED READINGS

ADAMIC, LOUIS, *America and the Refugees.* "Public Affairs Pamphlet," No. 29. New York, 1940. *A complete report on the number and origin of refugees admitted to the United States in recent years.*

AMIDON, BEULAH, "Aliens in America," *Survey Graphic*, February, 1941.

BENDINER, ROBERT, "Cool Heads or Martial Law," *Nation*, February 14, 1942. *Surveys the West Coast Japanese situation.*

BIDDLE, FRANCIS, "Axis Aliens in America," *Survey Graphic*, January, 1942. *The Attorney-General outlines government policy toward the Axis aliens.*

———, "Identification of Alien Enemies," *Vital Speeches*, February 15, 1942. *Explains the government's effort to examine all Axis aliens.*

COSTIGAN, HOWARD, "Plight of the Nisei," *Nation*, February 14, 1942. *The difficult position of West Coast Japanese-Americans.*

GUMPERT, MARTIN, "Immigrants by Conviction," *Survey Graphic*, September, 1941.

HARRISON, EARL G., "Axis Aliens in Our Midst," *Survey Graphic*, September, 1941. *The head of the Alien Registration Division reviews his work.*

MCWILLIAMS, CAREY, "California and the Japanese," *New Republic*, March 2, 1942.

———, "Japanese Out of California," *ibid.*, April 6, 1942.

ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR, "Race, Religion, and Prejudice," *New Republic*, May 11, 1942.

TAYLOR, FRANK J., "The People Nobody Wants," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1942. *An on-the-spot observer tells what happened to the lives of more than 100,000 Japanese when they were ordered out of the Pacific Coast Combat Zone.*

We Americans. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Co., 1939. *A study of racism versus Americanism.*

CORRECTION:

Mr. Thurman Arnold, who participated in the ROUND TABLE discussion "War Profits," April 19, 1942, has called attention to an error in the following statement attributed to him in the transcript:

"In this [the Univis] case, by virtue of a patent, they have so stabilized the price of spectacles that a spectacle which costs about three dollars at the wholesaler's sells at the retailer's for twenty dollars—over 500 per cent profit."

This statement should read:

"In this [the Univis] case, by virtue of a patent, they have so stabilized the price of spectacles that a spectacle which costs about three dollars at the manufacturer's sells at the retailer's for twenty dollars—over 500 per cent distribution cost."

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. How many aliens are there in the United States? Page 3.
2. How many "enemy" aliens are there in the United States of German, Italian, and Japanese nationality? Page 4.
3. How many anti-Nazi refugees are there on the Pacific Coast? Page 6.
4. What has been our national policy with respect to immigration? Pages 6–7.
5. Who is handling the Japanese relocation program on the Pacific Coast? Page 9.
6. How many Japanese are there in the United States? In California? How many Japanese-American citizens are being moved inland from the Pacific Coast? Page 9.
7. What percentage of the West Coast population is of Japanese nationality? Of Hawaii? Pages 10–11.
8. What proportion of enemy aliens taken into custody have been released after they were found to be loyal to the United States? Page 19.
9. What program in regard to handling aliens did the speakers agree upon? Page 22.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on pages 23–24.

*

1. Discuss the traditional American policy toward immigration. Contrast this with the Nazi doctrine of race and nationality.

2. Do you think race and nationality are reliable guides for separating friend from foe?

3. What are the facts of the alien situation in the United States? How many aliens are enemy aliens? Would you regard Austrian, Hungarian, Finnish, and Rumanian aliens as "enemy" aliens? Discuss.

4. What are the facts of the evacuation of Japanese aliens and Japanese-American citizens from the Pacific Coast area? Do you think this evacuation should be temporary or permanent? Should this evacuation be a precedent for handling Italian and German citizens and noncitizens?

5. Do you think the diversity of national groups in the United States is a source of strength in fighting the present kind of war? How would you suggest that anti-Nazi refugees be incorporated into the war effort?

6. What propaganda significance does our treatment of aliens have?

7. What policy should be followed that will employ the aid of the aliens in winning the war and at the same time protect our war effort from whatever threat there may be from enemy aliens?

Do You Understand the Economics of War?

You should read: *Defense Inventory* (*191*), *Little Business: What Now?* (*193*), *What Does Rationing Mean?* (*198*), *How To Meet the Menace of Inflation* (*200*), and *War Profits* (*214*).

*

It Takes MEN To Win a War . . . .

You should read: *Labor's Responsibility in Defense* (*194*), *Manpower: The Key to Victory* (*197*), *Labor Policies in Wartime* (*204*), and *Wanted: 30,000,000 Men* (*213*). These discussions contain important facts about the effects of war upon America's fighting and working manpower.

*

ROUND TABLE SUBSCRIPTION ORDER FORM

Please send the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE for:

☐ One Year ($2.00) ☐ Six Months ($1.00)

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

☐ I am enclosing the correct amount

☐ Please send me a bill

FOREIGN: ONE YEAR, $3.00; SIX MONTHS, $1.50

TRANSCRIPT SUBSCRIPTIONS

ONE YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION.....$2.00 SIX MONTHS'.....$1.00

FOR SINGLE COPIES OF THE BROADCASTS LISTED BELOW SEND TEN CENTS IN COIN TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. ANY FIVE PAST OR FUTURE BROADCASTS, 25 CENTS.

LISTS

of 1938–40 Transcripts Still in Print Will Be Sent upon Request. Students and Teachers Will Find These Issues To Be Valuable Commentaries upon Events of the Period.

No. **1941**

150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?*
153. *Guns or Butter?*
154. *Dilemma in the Far East*
155. *How To Fight Nazi Propaganda*
156. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
157. *Strikes and National Defense*
158. *Defense Economics*
161. *War Aims and Peace Aims*
163. *Lessons from Europe's War*
164. *The Effect of the Blitzkrieg on the Economic Order*
166. *Roosevelt* vs. *Hitler*
169. *War against the Middle Classes?*
170. *The Crisis and Your Pocketbook*
173. *Our Liberties*
174. *Blueprint for Hemisphere Defense*
177. *Defense: Who'll Pay the Piper?*
178. *Japan: Setting Sun?*
179. *National Unity*
180. *Weapons of Economic War*
182. *Crisis of Capitalism*
185. *New Frontiers in Education and Research*
186. *Anti-Semitism*
188. *Economics of Blitzkrieg*
189. *Showdown with Japan?*
190. *Science and War*

No.

191. *Defense Inventory*
192. *The Philippines*
193. *Little Business: What Now?*
194. *Labor's Responsibility in Defense*
195. *Canada: Neighbor at War*
196. *Civil Rights and "Public Danger"*
197. *Manpower: The Key to Victory*
198. *What Does Rationing Mean?*

1942

199. *Morale: Ours and Theirs*
200. *How To Meet the Menace of Inflation*
201. *Censorship*
202. *How United Are the Americas?*
203. *Are We Overconfident?*
204. *Labor Policies in Wartime*
205. *What Should the Churches Do in War?*
206. *What Should We Teach Our Youth Now?*
207. *Propaganda: Good and Bad*
208. *Civilian Defense*
209. *Taxes* vs. *Axis*
210. *Women, Work, and the War*
211. *The American Temper*
212. *India*
213. *Wanted: 30,000,000 Men*
214. *War Profits*
215. *War and the Family*
216. *Politics in Wartime.* May 3

All Round Table Transcripts Contain Added Factual Material in the Form of Graphs, Maps, Pictographs, Footnotes, Bibliographies, Etc.

What Do You Know about the Enemy?

You should read: *Japan: Setting Sun?* (*178*) and *Showdown with Japan?* (*189*). These discussions, broadcast before America was attacked by Japan, contain valuable information about the economic strength, political structure, and motives of our enemy.

ROUND TABLE NETWORK OF 102 STATIONS

2:30 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles	City	Call Letters	Kilo-cycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Manchester, N.H.	WFEA	1370
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Baltimore, Md.	WBAL	1090	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1260	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1410	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Wilmington, Dela.	WDEL	1150
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1240

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1440	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1490	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1380	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	810
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1450	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Fort Worth, Texas	KGKO	570	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	San Antonio, Texas	WOAI	1200
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1300	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1340	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1240

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240			

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530			

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1360	10:30 P.M. E.W.T.
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	4:00 P.M. C.W.T.

RADIO IN WARTIME

•

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

•

MAY 17, 1942

•

WILLIAM BENTON, Vice-President, University of Chicago

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission

HAROLD D. LASSWELL, Director of War Communications Research, Library of Congress; formerly a member of the Political Science Department, University of Chicago

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

FLY, JAMES LAWRENCE, *Regulation of Radio Broadcasting in the Public Interest.* "Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science." Philadelphia, January, 1941.

MELLETT, LOWELL, "Government Propaganda," *Atlantic Monthly,* September, 1941.

SIEPMANN, CHARLES, "Radio's Big Chance," *New Republic,* January 12, 1942.

[PRINTED IN U·S·A]